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BLOODHEAD # GOVERNMENT OF SIR
EDMOND ANDROS OVER NEW ENGLAND IN



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THE GOVERNMENT
OF
SIR EDMUND ANDROS
OVER
NEW ENGLAND,
IN
1688 AND 1689.

READ BEFORE THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ON
TUESDAY EVENING, 4TH DECEMBER, 1866,

BY
JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.
1867.

BRADSTREET PRESS.

At a stated meeting of the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, held in its Hall, on Tuesday evening, December 4th, 1866,

The paper of the evening, entitled "*The Administration of Sir Edmund Andros in New England in 1688-89*," was read by Mr. JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, Domestic Corresponding Secretary.

On its conclusion, Mr. ERASTUS C. BENEDICT, after some remarks, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. BRODHEAD for his interesting and able paper read this evening, and that a copy be requested for the archives of the Society.

Extract from the Minutes.

ANDREW WARNER,
Recording Secretary.

ERRATA.

Page 7, thirteenth line from bottom, for "executor," read "executer."

Page 10, tenth line from bottom, for "place as a "Lieutenant," read "place as Lieutenant."

Page 26, seventh line from top, for "possessed," read "professed."

ANDROS IN NEW ENGLAND.

My theme to-night is *The Administration of Sir Edmund Andros*, whom James the Second had made his *Governor of New England*, in 1688.

The name "*New England in America*," originally suggested by Captain John Smith, in 1614, was royally given by James the First, in his Patent of 1620. That Patent called "New England" all the North American territory lying between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of latitude, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific; over the whole of which the British King assumed Sovereignty. French Canada and Dutch New Netherland were included within James's Patent. The latter Province—now New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—had been first discovered by the Dutch in 1609; and it was held and nurtured by them until 1664, when they were dispossessed by the English—an event of which the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY commemorated the Second Centennial Anniversary, two years ago.

For a long time, however, this royal "New England" of James the First, existed only nominally or historically, and not really as an entire British dependency. It was sub-divided into various Colonies, each of which had a distinct

name :—consisting of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Maine. These several Colonies had separate Governments, all of which derived their authority directly or indirectly from the Sovereign Crown of England. Plymouth had a Patent, but no Royal Charter. Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, were chartered Royal Corporations. New Hampshire had no charter but a Governor and Counsellors appointed by the King, and an Assembly elected by her inhabitants. Maine was governed partly as a Ducal dependency of New York, and partly by the Corporation of Massachusetts Bay.

Under her charter, granted by King Charles “the Martyr,” the Royal corporation of Massachusetts Bay was perverted into a Sectarian Oligarchy, composed of Puritan church members, and wholly controlled by them.

That Puritan oligarchy never allowed its subjects a *really Popular Assembly*. It was too anxious to keep all local authority in its own hands; and it did so, until its Sovereign’s charter, granted in 1629, was legally cancelled in 1684. According to the English law of that time, the Royal power, which had been delegated to the annihilated corporation, passed back at once to the English Crown. This supreme, original fountain of English Colonial authority, might either create a new corporation, to govern Massachusetts under another Royal Charter, as Charles the First had done, or else commission a Royal Governor and Counsellors to administer the affairs of that colony, either with a popular Assembly, as in New Hampshire and Virginia, or, without such an Assembly, if the Sovereign should think it most expedient.

While Duke of York, James the Second

had granted a popular Assembly to New York, of which he was then the Proprietor. But when he became King, James abolished that Assembly ; and in June, 1686, he commissioned Colonel Thomas Dongan to be the Governor of his Royal Province, whom he authorized, with certain counsellors, also named by himself, to make all local laws. This was a very imperious exercise of the Sovereign's prerogative. Such a commission has been charged to be "arbitrary" and "illegal." Yet it was no more arbitrary in fact, than if the English King had sealed a charter under which New York should be governed by a corporate oligarchy, as Massachusetts had long been ruled. There was no more idea of a *popular assembly* in the abrogated Massachusetts Royal charter of 1629, than in the New York Royal commission of 1686. Both instruments were legally perfect ; for they had both passed the talismanic great seal of England, which was essential to the validity of any English Patent. The only question about either of them was whether a King of England could govern an English American Colony, *without an Assembly which represented all the inhabitants of that Colony*. It was certain that for more than half a century, Massachusetts *had been so governed, under a Royal charter from Charles the First*. It was reasonable that New York *might be so governed under a Royal commission from James the Second*.

The same month—June, 1686—that James thus commissioned Dongan to be the Governor of his Royal Province of New York, he commissioned, in like manner, and with similar powers, Sir Edmund Andros—who, for several years, had been his Ducal Deputy in that Province—to be the Governor of his Royal "Dominion of New Eng-

"land." This "Dominion" was meant to include all the British-American territory North-east of New York. Andros accordingly came to Boston in December, 1686, and assumed the government of Massachusetts. In a little while, he extended his authority over Maine, New Hampshire, Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, which, with Massachusetts, then formed "New England." By the end of the year 1687, Andros in New England, Dongan in New York, the Proprietors of New Jersey, and William Penn, were the only immediate representatives of the authority of the British crown, North of the fortieth degree of latitude, in America.

During the summer of 1687, Denonville, the French Governor of Canada, at the head of a large force, invaded the Seneca country of New York. Dongan quickly reported this to King James, who at once declared his sovereignty over the five Iroquois nations, and directed his Governor to protect them as his subjects. While doing this, the King also authorized New York to call on the neighboring English Colonies for assistance. At the same time, James agreed with Louis the Fourteenth that no English or French subordinate commander in America should invade the territories of either King, or commit any hostility against the subjects of either of them there, until the first of January, 1689. Before that day, it was hoped that a satisfactory boundary line, defining their respective Colonial possessions, would be arranged by a treaty between the two European monarchs.

Of all the sovereigns of England, James the Second had the most accurate knowledge of her trans-Atlantic Colonies. For nearly a quarter of a century after the Restoration, he had been the proprietor of a large American Province, under

his brother's Royal Patent. In the details of its administration, he had always taken a lively personal interest; and with his own hand, he had written many letters to his deputies in New York, which, at any rate, had the unusual merit of directness and precision. James's terse autographs were not constrained by any official "red tape;" and far more clearly than his Secretary's verbose phraseology, they uttered his own imperious will.

With this long apprenticeship in Colonial affairs, James became King of England and her dependencies early in 1685. The domestic affairs of his realm for some time occupied his attention almost entirely. The rebellions, under Monmouth in England and Argyle in Scotland, having been forcibly put down, the triumphant British sovereign saw his legitimate authority confirmed, and he soon assumed powers which did not belong to his Royal office.

In the spring of 1688, James--too active to drift, always wishing to row and to steer--was practically governing Great Britain almost as absolutely as Louis was ruling France. The great object of James was to substitute his own Roman Catholic faith in place of the Protestant lawful religion of England and Scotland. To this end, he dispensed with Statutes, forfeited the charters of corporations, and delayed summoning a British Parliament. The far-off English Colonies he insisted on governing, by his royal prerogative alone, as dependencies of the British crown, and not as constituencies of the British Empire. So had his predecessors determined; so had English Courts awarded; so were most Englishmen willing that those Colonies should be governed. All Colonial charters had been granted by the English crown alone;

and none had questioned its authority. The colonial system of James the Second was merely an arbitrary exercise of his acknowledged prerogative. He allowed a popular Assembly to Virginia, and he denied it to New England and to New York. Yet, this system of James was in many respects tolerant and equitable. It carefully provided for the happiness and prosperity of all classes of inhabitants in New York and New England, who, while they were not allowed popular representation in local Assemblies, were guaranteed equal political rights as English Colonial subjects, and as large religious liberty as Englishmen in England.

Bigoted Roman Catholic, and tyrannical as he was, James had nevertheless one characteristic which shone out in vivid contrast to his others. He was a much more patriotic Englishman than his witty brother Charles had ever been. Anxious for the friendship of Louis, the duller James scorned to betray England, or any of her dependencies, to France. Hardly had he directed Dongan to prevent all hostilities against French-American subjects, when he was convinced that Louis had obtained the advantage. Canada was under one Governor-General, whose sole mind executed all his master's orders. The English Colonies, on the other hand, had different local governments, which did not always act in harmony. James, therefore, determined to consolidate his North American territories, as far as convenient, under one vice-regal administration. By this means he hoped to secure them against their restless Canadian neighbor, and at the same time strengthen his own arbitrary rule. Dongan had pleaded that Connecticut and the Jerseys should be annexed to New York. But Connecticut was now a part of New England,

under the government of Andros. The Proprietors of New Jersey had just surrendered their authority to the King. Instead of annexing Connecticut and the Jerseys to New York, as Dongan had urged, James resolved to add New York and the Jerseys to his "Dominion of New England." Pennsylvania was not included in this arrangement, because her Quaker Proprietor was too useful an instrument for the King to offend. But all the rest of the titular New England of James the First, excepting French Canada, was now united, for the first time, as a political whole, under one Colonial Governor appointed by James the Second.

This determination must displace either Andros or Dongan. Both had been twice commissioned by James; first when Duke of York, and again when King of England. Of the two, Andros had the longest experience in government, and perhaps the best administrative talent. He had already governed New York for several years; and his vigorous rule in New England was now giving much satisfaction to his arbitrary Sovereign. Although "fond of prelacy," Sir Edmund was not a Roman Catholic. But he had proved himself to be an uncompromising executor of all the Royal commands. An accomplished soldier, Andros naturally made prompt and implicit obedience his standard of duty.

On the other hand, Dongan—likewise a soldier, yet more a patrician—was an Irish Roman Catholic, a nephew of Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, and the presumptive heir of his own elder brother, the intensely loyal Irish Earl of Limerick. But Dongan had more independence of character than Andros. He had foiled and embittered Penn, and had angered Perth and Melfort of New Jersey, in the interest of New York. All

these were powerful courtiers at Whitehall. The impulsive Governor of New York had been sharply censured by the King of France, for maintaining the King of England's antagonistic authority over the Iroquois. In a word, Dongan had shown more official "zeal" than an experienced politician in high place—then and now—would have considered expedient in a subordinate. So James superseded his Roman Catholic Governor of New York, and issued a new commission, making the Protestant, Sir Edmund Andros, Governor General of his "Dominion of New England," which now included all the territory (except Pennsylvania) between Maryland and Canada.

The recall of Dongan gratified the vanity of Louis, whom he had offended. But Louis had no reason to be pleased that James had appointed Andros to govern the consolidated British American Colonies, which, it was understood in London, would "be terrible to the French, and make them proceed with more caution than they have lately done." However disagreeably this measure of her King affected New York, it was certainly patriotic and wise, in respect to the colonial interests of England in America, as opposed to those of France.

The instructions which the King gave to Andros with his new commission, named forty-two of the principal inhabitants of the several colonies now forming his "Dominion of New England" to be its Counsellors. Those from New York were Anthony Brockholls, Frederick Philipse, Jervis Baxter, Stephen Van Cortlandt, John Spragg, John Younge, Nicholas Bayard, and John Palmer, nearly a fifth of the whole number. By the advice and consent of a majority of the Counsellors, of whom five were an ordinary

quorum, the Governor could make laws and impose taxes throughout the Dominion. The Provincial seal of New York was directed to be broken, and that of New England to be thereafter used in its place. Liberty of conscience, pursuant to the King's Declaration of April, 1687, was to be allowed "to all persons, so they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of it." No press was to be used, nor book to be printed, without the Governor's license. But this was no novelty; for press censorship had long been the darling Puritan practice in Massachusetts.

Such were the most prominent Instructions of James the Second to Andros, for the Government of his Dominion of New England. As the territory of that Dominion was now so vast, it was necessary that some one should be appointed to act for the Governor, in case of his absence or death. Captain Francis Nicholson was accordingly commissioned by the King to be his Lieutenant Governor of New England. No place was fixed by the Sovereign as the seat of Government of his American Dominion. It might be at Boston, or New York, or elsewhere within that Dominion, at the discretion of Andros; (*New York Colonial Documents, III.*, 536-550, ix, 372.)

When Dongan was notified of these arrangements, so unexpected by himself, he prepared to surrender his government of New York to Andros. Among other things, it was ordered in Council, that all Spanish Indians who had been made slaves within the Province, should be set free, if they could "give an account of their Christian faith, and say the Lord's prayer." The last law passed by Dongan and his New York Council, on the second of August, 1688, was "to prohibit shoemakers from using the mystery of tanning hides." The last patent, under the Pro-

vincial seal of New York, was issued by its Governor, on the same day, to the Town of Huntington, on Long Island.

Meanwhile, Andros had heard of his promotion over Dongan, of whom he was jealous, and anxiously awaited the arrival of his new commission at Boston. The news of its coming quickly spread; and Attorney General Graham of New York, who had been an old ship companion of Sir Edmund, hurried eastward towards the rising sun, which radiantly promoted him to be the Attorney General of the whole Dominion of New England. John Palmer, one of the Judges of New York, whom Dongan had sent with his dispatches to London, in the previous autumn, now returned to Boston; and Andros at once made him a fourth Associate Justice of the Superior Court of the enlarged Dominion, along with Joseph Dudley, and William Stoughton, and Peter Bulkley, who had been its three Judges since 1687; (*Col. Doc. III.*, 421, 428-478; *Valentine's Manual for 1862*, 741; *Palmer's Impartial Account*, 22; *Hutchinson's Massachusetts, I.*, 362-371.)

At length, on the nineteenth of July, 1688, the Governor General's new commission was published, with great parade, from the Balcony of the Boston Town House. Nicholson, at the same time, was installed in his place as a Lieutenant Governor of the whole Dominion of New England. A fortnight afterwards Andros set out for New York, attended by several of his counsellors, to resume its government, together with that of New Jersey.

On Saturday, the eleventh of August, 1688, Andros reached the metropolis, where he was received by Colonel Bayard's Regiment of militia infantry, and a troop of horse. The Governor

General's commission was read in Fort James, and then published at the City Hall. The Provincial seal of New York was received from Dongan, and "defaced and broken in council," according to the King's order. In its stead, the great seal of New England, with its motto from Claudian, "*Nunquam libertas gravior extat*," was thenceforth to be used throughout the Dominion. (*Valentine's Manual for 1862*, 738, 739; *N. Y. Col. Doc. III*, 546-567.) The same day a proclamation was issued, continuing all persons in office, and directing all former taxes to be collected. Thus Andros began his second government of New York. He had left the Province, seven years before, at the command of the Duke of York. In the interval, she had gained, and had lost, a popular Assembly. And now her old Governor returned among familiar scenes, to assume almost imperial authority, as the Viceroy of James the Second.

A few days afterwards, the Governor General went over to New Jersey, and published his commission at Elizabethtown, and then again at Burlington. Several local officers were at once commissioned by Andros, under the great seal of the Dominion. It was remarked that both East and West Jersey were thinly inhabited; but that all the people "showed their great satisfaction in being under His Majesty's immediate government." (*Col. Doc. III*, 554-567.)

But if the people of New Jersey were satisfied with their altered condition, the people of New York, who had long been accustomed to the direct government of James, were not generally pleased that their Province should lose its individuality, and be consolidated with the Royal Dominion of New England. It was true that their old Governor had come back to his first Ameri-

can home, and that many of its inhabitants preferred Andros, the Protestant, to Dongan, the Romanist. Yet the return of Andros to New York was accompanied by humiliating circumstances. It demonstrated that she had ceased to exist as a distinct British-American Province. To be sure Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, and Maine, and Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and New Jersey, had also ceased to exist, as separate English Colonies. But New York, from her beginning, had something peculiar about her. Historically, geographically, and socially, she was, and always must be, distinguished from every other North American possession of her British Sovereign. For half a century before her conquest, she had remained a territory of the Dutch Republic, interposed between the English Puritan Colonies at the North East, and the English Episcopalian and Roman Catholic Colonies at the South. For more than that period, her relations with the Canadian French, and with the Iroquois within her own borders had required special skill in their management. Of all the North American possessions of England, comprehensive New York seemed most to need a separate government. Up to this time she had, in fact, been differently governed from any other British-American Colony. She had never been chartered as a corporation, under either Dutch or English authority. In truth, she had never desired to be ruled by an oligarchy, like some of the incorporated Colonies in New England. What the eclectic people of New York desired, and what for a season they had enjoyed, was a "Charter of Liberties," which did not sequester local authority for the benefit of a sectarian minority of Church members: but which secured to every inhabitant of their territory a share in

legislation, freedom of conscience, and entire toleration of all modes of Christianity. The expressive words, "*The People*," were, for the first time, used in that superbest of all American Colonial Charters, drafted by the freemen of our own dear old "EMPIRE STATE." (*See N. Y. Colonial Documents, III., 358.*) If New York wished Connecticut and New Jersey to be annexed to her, it was because those Colonies had belonged to her ancient territory, and ought to belong to her now, under the King's Patent of 1664. But New York, in sympathy with Rhode Island, had no wish to be too closely associated with Massachusetts. It is not surprising that the metropolitan city of the old Dutch Province, knowing that it had become "the envy of its adjacent neighbors, who did not cease by all their little artifices to interrupt its trade," should have especially lamented "that unhappy annexation to New England." (*Col. Doc. III., 576, 792, 799; Dunlap, II., App. CXLI.*)

Nevertheless, if the people of New York generally felt it a political "degradation" to be thus annexed to New England, there were some who at first enjoyed gratification. Her Provincial Counsellors found their official importance increased by the act of their king. If the New England Counsellors could now vote on the affairs of New York, the New York Counsellors could likewise vote on the affairs of New England. And this they did, in the case of a proposed law to regulate the carrying of passengers abroad in ships, which Andros failed in causing to be passed in Council at Boston, but which was easily enacted when it was again brought up in Council at New York.

An event now occurred which gave the Dutch people of New York real uneasiness. For almost

half a generation, they had hoped that the wife of their own Prince of Orange would become Queen of England. Joyfully would they have mingled cries of "ORANJE BOVEN" with "LONG LIVE THE QUEEN." But James had married a Roman Catholic second wife, who bore him a son on the tenth of June, 1688; and this son, as Prince of Wales, would become King of England, on the death of his father, if all should go regularly on. The news was received at New York with regret by the Dutch Orangeists, but with vehement joy by the Royal officials. A great city carouse was given the same evening, at which the mirth waxed so boisterous, that the record quaintly tells us Mayor Van Cortlandt "sacrificed his hat, peruke, &c." (*Col. Doc. III.*, 554, 665.)

A conference with the Five Nations at Albany, and a visit to Esopus, detained Andros for some weeks in New York, where he would have staid longer if he had not been obliged to hasten to Boston on account of Indian troubles which had broken out in Maine.

Nicholson was accordingly directed to remain in New York, to administer its government, assisted by the local Counsellors, Phillipse, Bayard, Van Cortlandt, Younge and Baxter, the latter of whom was stationed, in command of the Fort, at Albany. Brockholls accompanied his old chief, Andros, to Boston; and such of the New York Records as were necessary for the Governor-General to have at hand were taken Eastward.

When he returned to Boston, after an absence of eleven weeks, Andros disapproved of what his subordinates there had done, and took vigorous measures to check the outrages of the savages in Maine. Most of the King's three companies of regular soldiers at New York and

Boston were at once dispatched thither, under the command of Brockholls, with stores and provisions. But this did not meet the emergency. It was therefore ordered in Council, on the first of November, 1688, that a militia force should be raised out of the whole "Dominion of New England," and that the command of this force should be offered to Fitz John Winthrop, of Connecticut, one of the King's Counsellors. But Winthrop pleaded illness, and declined the hazardous duty. The offer was repeated to other Colonial militia officers of the Dominion, every one of whom "absolutely refused the service." They all preferred staying at home, to doing duty in chilly Maine. Yet, a little while afterwards, this pusillanimity was attempted to be excused by the suggestion that Brockholls was a "Popish commander," and that Andros, by his vigorous policy for the defence of its frontier, was plotting "to bring low" the people of the rest of the Dominion. But, certainly, if Andros had been plotting "to bring them low," he would not have weakened the garrison in Boston by detaching most of the King's stipendiary soldiers for service in the forests of Maine.*

Seeing that no New England militia officer was willing to conduct the campaign against the Maine savages, the Governor-General, by the advice of his Council, resolved to take the command himself. Palmer, one of his Counsellors, thus records the truth, which has hitherto been suppressed: "The Governour's proposal to the

* According to a return made to Andros in 1688, the militia force of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, was 13,529. That of New York was about 2,000 in the same year. See, also, *Arnold, l.*, 520; *N. Y. Col. Doc. III.*, 581, 723, *IV.*, 29, 185, 197, 213; *Force's Tracts, IV.*, No. 10, p. 11.

“ Council, about his going to the eastward, met
 “ with no opposition, lest some of the military
 “ men there, should have been bound in honour
 “ to have taken that Employment upon them-
 “ selves.” (*Palmer's Impartial Account*, 35.)

So Andros gallantly went to Maine, and, throughout the biting winter, shared all the hardships of the militia, whom he led. There were about eight hundred men in all, raised out of the several Colonies : and among the officers, besides Brockholls, were Lieutenant-colonel MacGregorie and Captain George Lockhart, of New York. Many of the soldiers died from fatigue and exposure, in chasing the savages into their remote hiding-places. The result was, that this attempt to capture roaming native Americans, was like trying “ *to hedge in the cuckoo*,” as Cotton Mather afterwards philosophized on the expedition. But Mather omitted to state the disgusting fact that while Andros was thus trying, with personal devotion, to protect the frontier of his Government in Maine from the savages, some Boston merchants, taking advantage of his absence, sent a vessel thither, laden with ammunition and provisions, to truck with those Indian enemies and their French friends in Canada and Nova Scotia. (*Col. Doc. III.*, 581, 724.)

As he could not destroy or capture its savage foes, Andros established some eleven garrisons for the protection of Maine. At *Fort Charles in Pemaquid*, he placed Brockholls in chief command, with six regular soldiers and sixty militiamen. MacGregorie and Lockhart, of New York, were stationed at other forts. During the winter, he caused a sloop to be built out of the magnificent timber of Maine, and other precautions to be taken. But everything the Governor did was misrepresented at Boston, where, during his

absence, the most absurd stories were propagated, and rumors from England cautiously circulated.

Prominent among the King's instructions to Andros, was one which required him to suppress "all pirates and sea rovers." This the Governor tried to execute; but his efforts were foiled by interested speculators. "Since the vacating their charter," wrote Secretary Randolph, "they have been kept from the breach of the Acts for Trade and Navigation, encouraged by their former government;" and "they are restrained from setting out privateers who, for many years together, robbed the Spanish West Indies, and brought, great booties to Boston; and also, they durst not, during the Governor's time, harbour pirates." Boston, as witnessed by Randolph, had now become "the common receptacle of pirates of all nations." According to the testimony of Palmer, the "constant and profitable" correspondence of Massachusetts with "Foreigners and Pirates" had been so greatly obstructed by Andros as to make it "very disagreeable to many persons who had even grown old in that way of trade." The chief attraction of freebooters to Boston seems to have been the Massachusetts mint, established in 1652, which "encouraged pirates to bring their plate thither, because it could be coined and conveyed in great parcells, undiscovered to be such;" (*Col. Doc. III.*, 581, 582; *Palmer*, 20.)

The abrogation of the Massachusetts charter had crippled those worldly advantages. But it had still more affected the sectarian interests of Puritan clergymen; and it is not surprising that combined efforts were made by the sufferers to restore an oligarchy under which they had enjoyed such valued privileges.

Before the Massachusetts charter was cancelled

in 1684, not one of its inhabitants could vote for officers of the corporation, unless he was a freeman of that corporation, and a puritanical communicant. But these corporate "freemen" were only a small minority of the population of Massachusetts. The majority of her inhabitants were disfranchised. They were not represented in her General Court; they were taxed without their consent and against their will; they were the subjects of a spiritual despotism. Class government is not and never was democracy. As long as the Massachusetts charter survived, the greater part of her people enjoyed no real political freedom: and not until its abrogation did exclusive privilege give way to equal popular rights.

When the direct government of the English Crown took the place of the class government which had domineered Massachusetts by a perversion of her Royal charter, it was very natural that her Puritan ministers should have keenly felt their altered condition, and have bitterly vented their griefs. Their political supremacy was gone. They could no longer control the choice of corporate officers who would make laws at their dictation. There was now popular equality under the Common Sovereign of all English Colonists, where sectarian privilege had flourished before, under a colonial oligarchy. And so, the cry was soon started that Episcopalian "wild beasts of the field" had entered through the broken hedge of the old charter, and were ravaging that succulent Massachusetts sheep-fold of which Puritanism had so long enjoyed the exclusive pasture.

There was some truth in this metaphor of Cotton Mather. Most American Historians have denounced Andros as Governor of New England,

oftentimes in terms of coarse invective, and they have generally represented him as a mere bigot, and minion, and tyrant. The partisan statements of early New England writers have been reiterated without question, to the exclusion of almost every thing recorded on the other side. Whether the Commission and Instructions of James the Second to his Governor were more or less "illegal" or "arbitrary" than the charter which his beheaded father had granted to Massachusetts, and which "knew no representative body," was certainly not a question for Andros to answer. He was not to blame, because his King had directed New England to be governed by himself and his Counsellors, without an Assembly. His duty was to execute his Sovereign's commands; and this duty he did with characteristic energy—faithfully, fearlessly, and, in some instances, harshly. In his administration he greatly offended the "perverse people" who had so long been accustomed to order every thing in their own way. So they complained that it was a great wrong to require deponents to touch the Bible, instead of holding up their hands; a grievance that Quakers should be allowed "freedom to worship God" in their own fashion, and not be compelled, as of old, to pay forced rates for the support of Congregational ministers; an offence that the English Church service should be celebrated in Boston by the Rector, Samuel Miles. They liked the Press to be muzzled by Puritan censors; but they groaned when it was muzzled by Episcopalians. It was especially galling to them that West, and Farewell, and Graham, and Palmer, whom Andros had made his chief subordinates and confidants, had come from New York. These officials were opprobriously called "a crew of abject persons."

Yet, much allowance should be made for such old spiteful words, uttered by partisans, in the heat of angry controversy. It is certainly true that many of the acts of the Governor General's experienced subordinates were selfish and very oppressive. Land titles were questioned so that large fees might be exacted for new Patents. Other official charges were avariciously increased. The Judges of the Dominion were greatly blamed for administering the law strictly, according to the practice in England. They were especially reviled for not allowing writs of Habeas Corpus under Shaftesbury's act of 1679. But those Colonial Judges were at any rate lawyers enough to know that Shaftesbury's Statute did not extend to the English Plantations. It was purely an English domestic measure. And I may here mention, as an interesting historical fact, that this English Habeas Corpus act never did affect any one British-American Colony, until Queen Anne used her prerogative to stretch it across the Atlantic to Virginia, in 1705. Nevertheless, Andros was held to be responsible for every doing and every saying of each of his subordinates. Most of his own acts were able and statesmanlike, while some of them were arbitrary and provoking. His greatest fault was that he administered his government too loyally to his Sovereign, and too much like a brave soldier. Instead of conciliating, he wounded : instead of arguing, he ordered. Even James saw the injury his honest Viceroy was doing him in New England, and was obliged to rebuke his excessive zeal.

The King's Declaration of April 1687, for liberty of conscience, was at first joyfully received by his most sanguine New England subjects. Puritans thought it a deliverance from

English Prelacy ; Quakers and Anabaptists felt that they could at length share in the liberty which Congregationalists had monopolized ; and the small band of Episcopalians gathered in Boston rejoiced that they might now freely hear the beautiful liturgy of their denomination read by a surpliced clergyman. What in our own day is called "*Broad Church*," seemed to be established by James the Second throughout his Dominion of New England. But the Puritan ministers of Massachusetts soon caught an alarm. They quaintly complained "that a licentious people take the advantage of a liberty to withhold maintenance from them." They were vexed that Andros would not allow all the inhabitants to be distressed by constables visiting their houses, to levy the compulsory church rates to pay the salaries by which Massachusetts Congregational preachers had been comforted of old. All around Boston, these Sectarians waxed wroth when they discovered that their own hatred of Protestant Episcopacy was surpassed by that of the Roman Catholic head of the Church of England ; and the most discerning Puritan politicians in the Bay Colony began to dread a Royal toleration more than the enforcement of the suspended penal laws about religion, which they now called "the only wall against Popery." Addresses of thanks to the King were, nevertheless, adopted by several congregations ; but, at the same time, petitions were signed for relief from some of the imperious measures of Andros. These documents were entrusted to Increase Mather, one of the most eminent Puritan ministers in Massachusetts, who had been sued for a libel by Randolph, and was obliged to embark in disguise for England, apparently hoping to ob-

tain from the King a restoration of his Colony's effete oligarchy.

But the determination of James to maintain the government he had established in New England, could not be shaken. Personal favorites, prevailing in other points, were foiled in this. Sir William Phipps, a native of Maine, whom he had made a Knight, for his success in recovering a large treasure from a Spanish wreck near Hispaniola, was allowed to ask what he pleased ; and Phipps asked "that New England might "have its lost liberties restored." But James, who had no idea of re-establishing Puritanism in Massachusetts, replied, "Anything but that." Phipps then procured a Royal Patent to be High Sheriff of New England, so that he could impanel jurors, and thus counteract Andros. With this he came to Boston some time after Mather had gone ; but the Governor found a way to defeat his Patent, and Phipps returned to London full of indignation. (*Magnalia*, I., 175, 176, 178.)

In the mean time, Mather had been kindly received by James on the thirtieth of May, and, in conjunction with Nowell and Hutchinson, former magistrates of Massachusetts, had petitioned for liberty of conscience, and favor to the College at Cambridge. But these petitions spoke of the Episcopal Church in such "very indecent language," that the Agents were obliged to withdraw them from the Plantation Committee, to which they had been referred. The Agents then petitioned for a confirmation of estates in New England, "and that no laws might be made, or monies raised, without an Assembly, with sundry other particulars." This petition was referred to Attorney-General Powis for a report. But Lord Sunderland, the President of the Coun-

cil, struck out of it, "the essential proposal of "an Assembly," telling Mr. Brent of the Temple, the Solicitor of the petitioners, "that it was by "his advice that the King had given a commission to Sir Edmund Andros, to raise monies "without an Assembly, and that he knew the "King would never consent to an alteration; "nor would he propose it to His Majesty." Powis, however, had been "dexterously gained;" and being hardly a third-rate lawyer, and very jealous of his predecessor Sawyer, he reported that the Massachusetts charter had been "illegally vacated." A copy of this report was dispatched to Boston, where it was used to excite hopes of a new charter, "with larger power." But the agents at length became convinced that the Massachusetts charter would neither be restored nor enlarged, and that the King would not disturb the policy he had adopted in regard to consolidated New England. They then asked the Plantation Committee to report "that until "His Majesty shall be graciously pleased to "grant an Assembly, the Council should consist "of such persons as shall be considerable proprietors of lands within his Majesty's Dominions," that each county should have a Counsellor, and that no law should be made except by a vote of the majority of these Counsellors. This would of course have placed the government of New England in the hands of a local landed aristocracy.

But extraordinary events were now culminating in England, which postponed definite action on Colonial affairs. In the midst of these movements, William Penn retained the favor of his Sovereign, who made him "Supervisor of "excise and hearth money," and promised to enlarge Pennsylvania by "a grant under the

"great Seal, for the three counties on the Delaware." If this royal promise had been executed, there would have been one less North American State; and New York would now have had a rival Sister, no less powerful in commerce than in agriculture. Yet, while James thus especially favored Penn, he promised Mather a "speedy redress" of many grievances in New England; and that, in the mean time, Andros "should be written unto, to forbear the measures that he was upon." But no such instructions were sent to Andros.

A revolution in England prevented many of the King's designs in America from being carried out. One of these designs seems to have been to extend the system of consolidation, which had worked so well in New England, throughout the other British North American Colonies. If James had remained King, he would very soon have included Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas in one grand general government, with New England, under his North American Viceroy. It was also his purpose, as he afterwards informed the Pope, "to have set up the Roman Catholic religion in the English Plantations of America." This, however, could not have been accomplished as long as the Mother Country was Protestant. The rash bigotry of James precipitated the event, in that country, which observing men had long foreseen. It alarmed the penetrating judgment of the Vatican. "We must," said the thoughtful cardinals of Innocent the Eleventh, "excommunicate this King, who will destroy the little of Catholicism which remains in England." But before Rome applied her precautionary "*brake*," the last male Stuart sovereign of Great Britain was de-throned.

The story of the English Revolution of 1688 is familiar. James the Second offended English Protestants so much, that they invited the Dutch Stadtholder, William the Third, Prince of Orange, to come over from Holland and deliver them from their Roman Catholic King, who had now harrowed God's field long enough. As soon as James was assured that William was coming, he issued a Proclamation summoning his subjects to defend their country from invasion. He also wrote a circular letter, on the sixteenth of October, 1688, to Andros, and his other Colonial Governors, warning each of them "to take care, that upon the approach of any fleet or foreign force, the militia of that our Plantation, be in such readiness as to hinder any landing or invasion that may be intended to be made within the same."

The dispatch of this circular was the last official act of James the Second in regard to his American Colonies. Lord Sunderland, the versatile Minister who countersigned it, was removed from office, a few days afterwards, for treasonable correspondence with the enemies of his master. But nothing could now help James. On the fifth of November, 1688—the eighty-third anniversary of the discovery of Guy Fawkes's "Gunpowder Plot" against James the First, in 1605—by a singular coincidence, William landed at Torbay in Devonshire, at the head of a large Dutch force. The second James, less lucky than his grandfather, became stupefied, abdicated his crown, and fled to France. A provisional directory of English Peers was formed at London, which invited the Prince of Orange to assume the administration of the English Government. This invitation was accepted by William, who, after partaking of the Holy Communion, accord-

ing to the ritual of the English Protestant Episcopal Church, on the last day of December, 1688, became the virtual Sovereign of England.

The attention of the Prince of Orange was quickly called to the situation of the English Colonies in North America, "for the happy state of which he possessed a particular care." A few days after his assumption of the administration, on the ninth of January, 1689, Mather was introduced to him by Lord Wharton, and he was fully informed of the warning letter which James had sent to his American Governors in the previous October. William now thought it prudent to communicate his own instructions to those Governors. Accordingly, on the twelfth of January, 1689, under the counter-signature of William Jephson, his private Secretary, the Prince wrote an adroit circular letter to each of them, directing that all persons "not being Papists," holding any offices in the Plantations, should continue to execute them as formerly; and that "all orders and directions lately made or given by any legal authority, shall be obeyed and performed by all persons," until further commands should come from England. Thus William clearly announced his American policy to be that of "*statu quo*." This letter was dispatched to Virginia; and it was directed to be sent to New England, and the other English dependencies.

But the Massachusetts Agents in London saw at once, that if William's letter should be received by Andros, it would be "fatal to their schemes;" because it would reduce their constituents to the dilemma of submitting to his authority, under the Prince's direction, or else of treasonably rebelling. By this time Phipps had got back to London; and he, with Mather, so ef-

fectually wheedled Jephson, that William's letter to Andros "was stopped, and ordered not to be sent." This was the turning point of the trouble which followed in New England; and no one afterwards regretted the success of this Whitehall back-stairs intrigue, of which William was made the chief victim, more than did William himself.

A month after this letter of the Prince of Orange was thus withheld from Andros, on the thirteenth of February, 1689, WILLIAM and MARY were proclaimed King and Queen of England, and "all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging." The next day the new Sovereigns, by their Proclamation, confirmed in their offices "*all Protestants*" within the Kingdom. But this did not affect officers in the English Colonies. Five days afterwards, on the nineteenth of February, 1689, another Proclamation directed that "*all men,*" in the several Colonies, "*being in offices of Government, shall so continue, until their Majesty's further pleasure be known.*" The difference between these two Proclamations was very significant. In England, *Protestants only* were to be kept in office. But in the English Colonies, *all officials* were to remain undisturbed. There was no danger to Protestantism in America, as there had been in Britain.*

* The following is a copy of the circular letter of the English Privy Council, to the several Colonial Governors :

"After our very hearty commendations:—*Whereas*, WILLIAM and MARY, Prince and Princess of Orange, have, with the consent and at the desire of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament Assembled at Westminster, been proclaimed King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, and of the Territories and Dominions therunto appertaining. We have thought fit hereby to signify the same unto you, with directions that with the Council and other principal offi-

The Revolution in England was thus held by her statesmen as in no way affecting her Colonies, except in transferring their allegiance, without their expressed consent, from one British Sovereign to another. But, while Phipps and Mather acquiesced in this doctrine, they thought the time had come for a vigorous effort to break up the consolidated New England of the late King. They were "secessionists;" they thought more of Massachusetts than of Union; and they wanted to destroy Union. Encouraged by the favor of Mary, who, before she left Holland, had been gained over to their side, by "the eminent" Abraham Kick, of Rotterdam, Phipps and Mather, on the eighteenth of February, petitioned William that Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island and Connecticut might be "restored to their ancient privileges." But they said nothing about New York and New Jersey in

"cers and inhabitants of [Virginia] you proclaim their most
 "sacred Majestys, according to the form here inclosed [See
 "Col. Doc. III., 605], with the solemnities and ceremonies re-
 "quisite on the like occasion. And we do further transmit
 "unto you their Majestys most gracious Proclamation, signi-
 "fying their Majesty's pleasure that all men being in offices of
 "Government, shall so continue, until their Majesty's further
 "pleasure be known. We do in like manner will and require you
 "forthwith to cause to be proclaimed and published, as also that
 "you do give order that the oaths herewith sent, be taken by
 "all persons of whom the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance
 "might heretofore have been required; and that the said oaths
 "of Allegiance and Supremacy be set aside and abrogated
 "within your government. And so, &c. &c. &c.

"From the Council Chamber, the 19th February, 1688-9.

"HALIFAX, C. P. S.	SHREWSBURY,	MACCLESFIELD,
"BATH,	H. CAPEL,	J. BOSCAWEN,
"WINCHESTER,	DEVONSHIRE,	DELANERE,
"R ^d HOWARD,	R. HAMPDEN."	

This di-patch was sent to, and acted on, in Virginia, and in Pennsylvania; and it would surely have been obeyed by Andros, if he had received it. Compare Col. Doc., III., 572, 583, 587, 588, 605; Chalmers, I., 431, 469; Anderson's Colonial Church, II., 381, 382; Penn. Col. Rec., I., 340, 341.

which they had no interest. William referred this petition to his Plantation Committee; and meanwhile he directed that the dispatches and Proclamations which the Privy Council had ordered to be sent to Andros should be "postponed 'till the business of taking away the charters should be considered." Phipps and Mather were accordingly heard by their Counsel before the Plantation Committee; and Sir Robert Sawyer, the former Attorney General, in 1684, reported the reasons for the cancellation of the Massachusetts charter. Sawyer's report was legally satisfactory. Even Treby and Somers, the Attorney and Solicitor General of William the Third, pronounced the "unreversed" judgment in Chancery, gained by Sawyer against that charter, to be good, in spite of the unlawyer-like opinion which a few months before had been bought from Powis, the venal Attorney General of James the Second.

And so, the Plantation Committee of William the Third agreed to report, on the twenty-second of February, 1689, "that His Majesty be pleased "to send forthwith, a Governor to New England, "in the place of Sir Edmund Andros, with a Provisional Commission, and with Instructions to "proclaim His Majesty in those colonies." But the sending of another Royal Governor in place of Andros, was just what Phipps and Mather did not wish to be done. He was as good as any other Royal Governor might be. Accordingly, the King was prevailed upon to order that a new charter should be prepared for New England, which, while it recognized colonial rights in property, reserved colonial "dependence on the crown;" and that, instead of a Governor, two Commissioners should be sent to administer its government, in the name of the Sovereign. Yet even this did not

suit the Massachusetts agents. It settled the fate of Andros; but it showed that William meant to keep New England consolidated, as James had established that Dominion.

A general popular Assembly in New England, was not palatable to the Massachusetts agents. What they wanted was the restoration of the old separate Puritan oligarchy in that Colony:—nothing more, nothing less. Accordingly, on the fourteenth of March, Mather was again presented to the King, whom he implored to “favour New England.” This William readily promised; but he keenly remarked, “there have been irregularities in their government.” At the same time he declared that Andros should be recalled, and that “the present King and Queen shall be proclaimed by their former magistrates.” What William really meant by this phrase, “former magistrates,” is not clear; but it is certain that he did not mean to decompose his predecessor’s “Dominion of New England” into its former several integers. He was too good a statesman not to adopt at once James’s royal notion of Colonial consolidation, and not to maintain that idea which was so demonstrably advantageous for England, especially when she was on the eve of a bitter war with France. Yet, William’s large European policy was not revealed to the agents of his subordinate American colony. In this state of doubt, Phipps thought that he had better hasten back to Massachusetts. But before he left London, a messenger from James, who was now in Ireland, tendered him “the government of New England, if he would accept it.” This Irish offer, by “the abdicated king,” Phipps wisely declined; and soon afterwards he set sail for Boston, carrying the Privy Council’s delayed dispatches to Andros of nine-

teenth of February, and "with certain instructions "from none of the least considerable persons at "Whitehall." One of these private "instructions" was that if the people of New England "did give them the trouble to hang Sir Edmund, "they deserved noe friends:" (*Col. Doc. III.*, 587, 588; *Magnalia*, I., 178.)

After the departure of Phipps, the English Privy Council, on the eighteenth of April, directed Secretary Shrewsbury, to inquire who were best fitted to be Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of New England. These appointments were the more necessary to be made at once, in view of the opening war with France. It was also contemplated to bring the several proprietary governments in America "under a nearer dependence on "the Crown, as His Majesty's revenue in the "Plantations is very much concerned herein." Thus William's Whig Counsellors, in the third month of his reign, advised him to carry out some of the most decided colonial measures of his predecessor, because those measures were now selfishly considered to benefit England.

Two hundred years ago, news from Europe came tardily and uncertainly across the Atlantic. The monitory letter sent by James to Andros in October, did not reach Boston until the following January. By the same vessel, Mather warned his Massachusetts friends, "to prepare the minds "of the people for an interesting change." The King's letter was dispatched to Maine, and in obedience to it, on the Tenth of January, 1689, Andros issued his Proclamation, dated "*at Fort Charles, at Pemaquid*," charging "all officers, "civil and military, and all other His Majesty's "loving subjects within this his Territory and "Dominion aforesaid, to be vigilant and careful "in their respective places and stations; and that

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“upon the approach of any Fleet or Foreign Force, they be in readiness, and use their utmost endeavour to hinder any landing or invasion that may be intended to be made within the same.” (*See Val. Man.*, 1859, 452; *Hist. Mag.*, Nov. 1866, 144, *Sup.*)

A few weeks afterwards, while Nicholson was putting New York in a better condition of defence, a coasting vessel from Virginia arrived there, on the fifth of February; and Andries Greveraet her master, called on the Lieutenant-Governor at Fort James, with news that the Prince of Orange had landed at Torbay. Astonished to hear it, Nicholson compared William to Monmouth; prophesied that “the very ’prentice boys of London will drive him out againe;” and forbade the news to be divulged to any one. A week afterwards, Jacob Leisler, a Captain of one of the City train-bands, and a large importer of foreign liquors, received a confirmation of the intelligence, by way of Maryland. The news was “kept private at first” by Nicholson and his Counsellors, “to hinder any tumult by divulging the same so suddenly.” But, on the first of March, 1689, “a full account” of it was dispatched from New York to Andros, in Maine.*

When Andros received Nicholson’s dispatches from New York, he left Brockholls in chief command at Pemaquid, and hastened to Boston, which he reached “about the latter end of March?” (*Col. Doc.* III., 581, 723.) A few days afterwards, on the 4th of April, John Winslow arrived at Boston from the West Indies, bring-

* It is remarkable that Mr. J. G. Palfrey, the most recent historian of “New England,” who frequently quotes what he calls the “*O’Callaghan Documents*,” abstains from any allusion to this earliest intelligence received in America, of the landing of William the Third in England, which is printed, in full, in the *New York Colonial Documents*, III., 591, 660.

ing copies of the Prince of Orange's Declaration from the Hague, and confirmation of the previous news of his landing in England. Andros required Winslow to produce the Prince's declarations ; but he refusing to do so, was imprisoned for not communicating these important public documents to the Governor-General of New England, who certainly had a right to know their contents.

The intrigue of Phipps and Mather, in London, which prevented the transmission to Andros of the Prince of Orange's confirmatory letter of the twelfth of January, and of the Privy Council's dispatches of the nineteenth of February, now produced its intended result. That active divine, Increase Mather, had written home, that "a charter with larger power" for Massachusetts, would be obtained from James. It was plausibly argued by Mather's correspondents, that, if favor might be expected from James, much more would surely come from William. The success of the Calvinistic Dutch Prince became the earnest prayer of the New England Puritans. Although it was well understood by Louis, and Seignelay, in France, that the Protestant Andros would at once declare for William, if he should become the Sovereign of England, (*Col. Doc.* IX., 403, 404,) the chief leaders of opinion in Massachusetts chose to pronounce otherwise. What they wanted to get—rightly or wrongly—was a restoration of the former separate charter government of the colony. Accordingly, they rumored that by his Proclamation of January to hinder the landing of any "foreign force" in New England, Andros had meant to oppose the commands of William, if he should become his lawful Sovereign. The Boston merchants who had sent supplies to the Indians in Maine, and others

whose illicit trading had been stopped, joined in the conspiracy against the Governor. By this time there was great excitement in and around Boston; and Andros wrote to Brockholls at Pemaquid, on the sixteenth of April, that "there is a general buzzing among the people, great with expectation of their old charter, or they know not what;" (*Hutch.* I., 372.) But the most reflecting Massachusetts minds saw that the American Plantations of England must necessarily follow the fate of their mother country; and that it would be wise to await the event in that country. As swings the ship with the tide, so must swing her yawl. So, the "principal gentlemen in Boston" after consultation agreed that they would, if possible, "extinguish all essays in the people towards an insurrection." Yet, if an "ungoverned *mobile*" should push matters to extremity, those "principal gentlemen" would themselves head the movement, and secure any official rewards that might follow its success. Accordingly, the young Cotton Mather drew up a prolix: "*Declaration of the gentlemen, merchants, and inhabitants of Boston, and the country adjacent,*" explaining their intended revolt, and their purpose to secure Andros and his officers, "for what justice orders from his Highness with the English Parliament shall direct, lest, ere we are aware, we find (what we may fear, being on all sides in danger) ourselves to be by them given away to a Foreign power, before such orders can reach unto us;" (*Magnalia*, I., 179, 180; *Hutch.*, I., 381; *Force's Tracts*, IV., ix., x.)

There was certainly no "Foreign power" able or likely to damage New England in the Spring of 1689, except the French Canadians and the Savages, against whom Andros had been the whole winter endeavoring to defend Maine.

That he would have "given away" New England to Louis, was not believed by Louis himself; (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, IX., 403, 404.) But this absurd intent was charged against Andros, with the design of recommending to William a Colonial revolt he did not desire, and which must necessarily embarrass his government. The train thus carefully prepared was admirably fired. It was noised about, that Boston was to be destroyed by the New York Mohawks, and by mines under the town: that the soldiers in Maine were all poisoned with rum; and that a French fleet of thirty sail was hovering on the coast; (*Palmer*, 9.) These and other absurd stories were so generally circulated, that insurrection could not be restrained. On the eighteenth of April, the populace in and around Boston rose in arms, seized Captain George, of the Royal frigate *Rose*, and imprisoned Sheriff Sherlock, with Randolph, Farewell, and other obnoxious officials of the New England government. About noon, Bradstreet, the last Governor of Massachusetts, under its cancelled charter, with several other prominent Boston citizens, assembled in the Royal Council Chamber at the Town-house; and after Cotton Mather's verbose declaration had been read from the balcony, they notified Andros, who was then at the fort, to surrender the government, "to be preserved and disposed according to order and direction from the Crown of England, which suddenly is expected may arrive." A boat had meanwhile been sent ashore from the *Rose* frigate, to bring off the Governor. But as he was going down to embark, he was met by an armed party bearing the summons from those assembled at the Town-house. Surprised at this demand for which he knew "noe cause or occasion," Andros, with several attendants, went to

meet its signers at the Royal Council Chamber. As he passed thither, "the streets were full of "armed men; yett none offered him or those "that were with him the least rudeness or "incivility, but, on the contrary, usual respect." At the Council Chamber, where, among the civilians, five Boston ministers were very busy, the Governor was ordered by the conspirators to be imprisoned along with Graham, West, Palmer, and other subordinates of the Dominion. But the mutineers, who "broke open the Secretary's "office," missed finding "Sir Edmund's papers;" and the Great Seal of New England seems also to have disappeared at this time; (*Col. Doc. III.*, 582, 723, 724; *Hutch. Coll.*, 567-575.)

And now that Andros was safely in jail, the question arose how the Government of the Dominion of New England was to be lawfully administered. Had he succeeded in his attempt to embark on the *Rose* frigate, and gone in her to Newport or New York, the course of subsequent events would have been very different. The seat of the New England Government would have been changed; but the government itself would have been maintained. This made the Massachusetts insurgents especially anxious to secure the person of Andros. Under the King's commission, Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson was to succeed his chief only in case of his death or absence from the Territory. The Governor's forced incapacity had not been contemplated. (*Col. Doc. III.*, 542.) Perhaps the imprisonment of Andros in Massachusetts did not strictly entitle Nicholson to assume the government of New England. Yet, next to Andros, he was the only representative of the English crown who had any right from that crown to chief authority in the Dominion. Certainly, no mal-

administration could be alleged against Nicholson, as it had been charged against Andros. But those who imprisoned their Royal Governor, meant to rend consolidated New England into pieces. Their act was only "secession." Massachusetts did not want union with her sister Colonies, unless she could control that union, as she had controlled the New England Confederacy of 1643. She pined for the separate local government which she had enjoyed under her perverted and abrogated charter. It was very galling to her, that, in common with neighboring British Colonies, she should be subjected by her Sovereign to the authority of his own Governor-General. Although but a subordinate English Colony, without a charter, she determined to secede from the rest of New England. Accordingly, a Council of Safety assumed the direction of affairs in Massachusetts, and hastened to withdraw the garrisons which Andros had carefully established in Maine. The last Colonial charter officers, chosen in 1686, were reinstated, until orders should come from England. On the twenty-ninth of May, Phipps arrived at Boston, with the dispatches addressed to Andros by the English authorities at Whitehall. Finding that the Governor was in prison, Phipps opened the letters directed to him; and the acting magistrates of Massachusetts, the same afternoon, proclaimed William and Mary, according to the Privy Council's orders to Andros of nineteenth February, which he would doubtless have cheerfully obeyed, if they had been dispatched to him as originally intended. (*Col. Doc. III.*, 572, 583, 587, 588; *Chalmers, I.*, 431, 469.)

Thus, the intrigue begun by Phipps and Mather at London, was completed at Boston. Without the knowledge and against the purpose of Wil-

liam, his Dominion of New England—which had hardly lasted eight months after the annexation of New York and New Jersey—was “dis-united” by the rebellious secession of Massachusetts. The name which James the First had given survived in history; but the consolidated, actual New England of James the Second never more existed. And thus, Massachusetts became the first practical exponent, on the American continent, of that extreme doctrine of “State Rights,” which afterwards produced so much national disorder. The Boston notion of “secession” quickly spread throughout the other New England Colonies. Plymouth—as Wiswall wrote to Hinckley—did not like “to trot after the Bay horse.” (*Mass. H. S. Coll.*, xxxv., 301.) Therefore, Plymouth set up again her old Patent government; and so Plymouth seceded from New England. Rhode Island had no sympathy with the persecutors of Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams, who had now imprisoned Andros; yet, to avoid anarchy, she replaced her former magistrates under her charter; and so Rhode Island seceded. Connecticut—which had adroitly coquetted with both Massachusetts and New York, and did not wish to be governed by either—boldly resumed her charter government; and secession was triumphant. Before the summer of 1689, “New England” was once more resolved into her several constituent Colonies.

What happened in New York, after the deposition of Andros, may perhaps be detailed on some future occasion.

It only remains to be observed at this time, that what is often called the “*Revolution in New England*,” in the spring of 1689, cannot be justified on the grounds maintained by the English nation, which after the abdication of

James, made William and Mary its King and Queen. England as a nation had all the attributes of Sovereignty ; and what that nation did, required no confirmation elsewhere. On the other hand, New England was a Colonial dependency of the Mother Country ; bound to follow the fate of that country, as long as "the Dominion" was dependent. In none of the mutinous movements in that Dominion was there any thought of making any one of its constituent colonies independent of England. On the contrary, the foremost insurgents in Massachusetts most loudly protested their subjection to English authority, and their loyalty to "the Crown of England." This was precisely the doctrine of their Governor General, whom by imprisoning, they prevented from executing the orders sent him by that Crown. If they had meant to declare themselves independent of the Mother Country, the Massachusetts mutineers against Andros had a perfect right to revolt from England ; and history would have applauded their rebellion. They might have failed in their attempt at that time ; yet, at any rate they would have tried to vindicate the principle of man's right to self-government. But this grand idea was not the Boston notion of 1689. That notion was to swing Massachusetts back again to her former condition of an English corporation, so that her Puritan ministers might control a colonial oligarchy, which would, among other things, evade the execution of the English navigation laws. This was not a consistent position for a subordinate, loudly loyal, English colony to assume. Yet it was the attitude in which Massachusetts placed herself ; unsuccessfully in regard to most of her intended objects. There can be no just comparison of her selfish colonial mu-

tiny against her King's subordinate Governor in 1689, with her grand colonial revolt against her King himself in 1776. The one was a double-dealing insurrection of avowed English subjects; the other was a defiant rebellion of American freemen, who boldly renounced their allegiance to England.

But history tells us that there was, at least, one common cause of colonial grief in both these epochs. The oppressive navigation laws of England, which were meant to cripple all colonial commerce, had much to do with the deposition and imprisonment of Andros. And here, let me say that those laws survived until the spring of 1849, when they were finally abolished by the British Parliament, mainly through the personal influence and exertions of that eminent American Historian, now an officer of this Society, who then so admirably represented his country in England. I repeat, that those English navigation laws had much to do with the New England insurrection of 1689; as they had much to do with the American Revolution of 1776. From "the common gaole in Boston," on the twenty ninth of May, 1689, Randolph, the imprisoned Secretary of the Dominion, thus wrote to the Plantation Committee at London: "My Lords: Notwithstanding all the pretensions of grievances mentioned in their papers, and cries of oppression in the Governor's proceedings, it is not the person of Sir Edmund Andros, but the government itself, they design to have removed, that they may freely trade." (*Col. Doc. III.*, 581.)



